

A  
**REMONSTRANCE**  
Of the State of the  
**KINGDOME.**

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*Die Mercurii 15. Decemb. 1641*

It is this day resolved upon the Question by  
the HOVSE of

**COMMONS,**

That Order shall be now given for the Prin-  
ting of this **REMONSTRANCE** of the  
State of the Kingdome.

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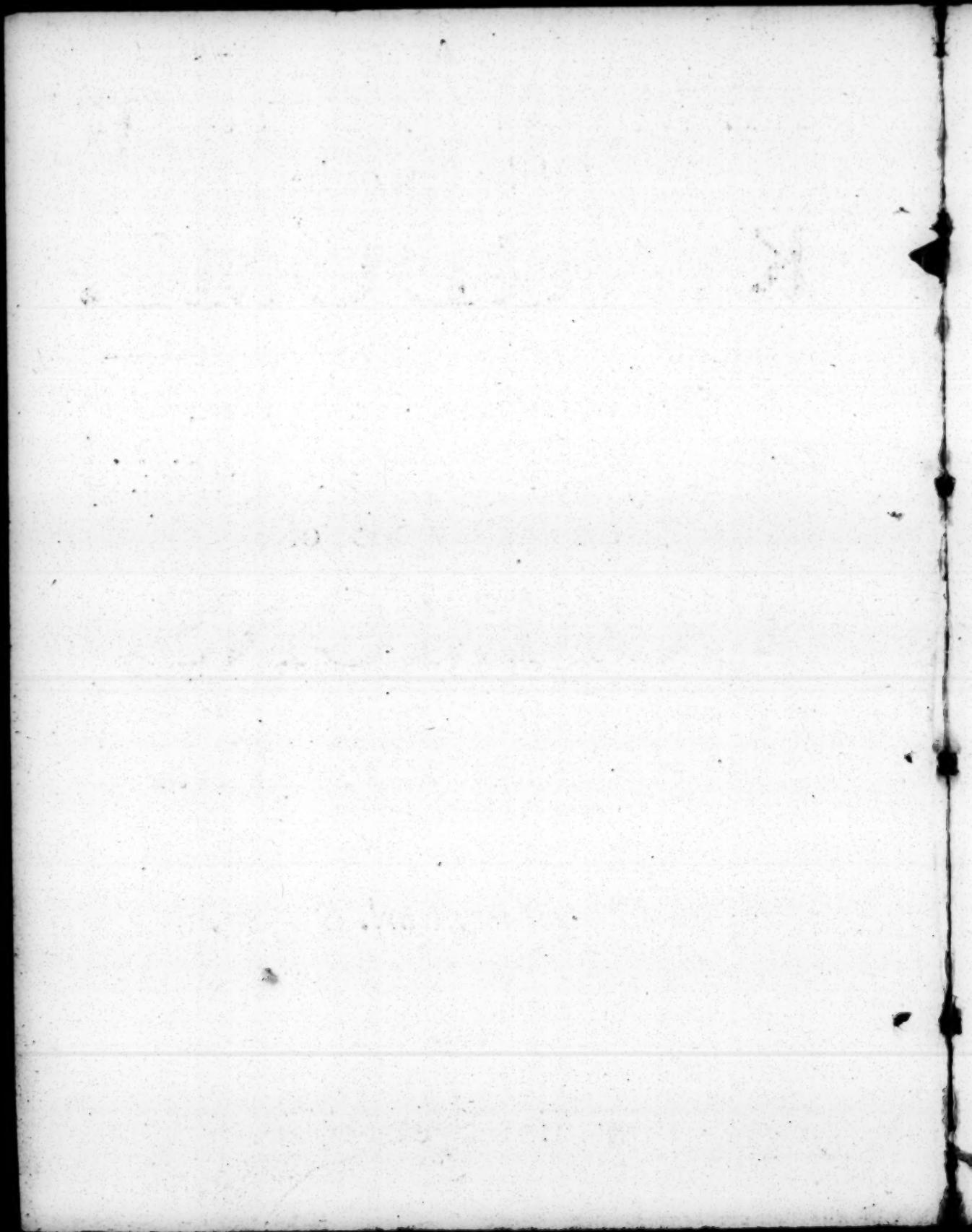
*H. Elsinge Cler. Parl. D. Com.*

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Printed in the yeare 1641.



THE  
REMONSTRANCE.

**T**HE COMMONS in this present Parliament assembled, having with much earnestnesse, and faithfulness of affection, and zeale to the publike good of this Kingdome, and His Majesties honour and service for the space of twelve moneths, wrastled with the great dangers and feares, the pressing miseries and calamities, the various distempers and disorders, which had not only assaulted, but even overwhelmed and extinguisht the liberty, peace, and prosperity of this Kingdome, the comfort and hope of all His Majesties good Subjects, and exceedingly weakned and undermined the foundation and strength of his owne Royall Throne; doe yet finde an abounding Malignity, and opposition in those parties and factions, who have beene the cause of those evils, and doe still labour to cast aspersions, upon that which hath beene done, and raise many difficulties, for the hindrance of that which remaines yet undone, and to foment jealousies betwixt the King and the Parliament; that so they may deprive Him and His People of the fruit of His owne Gratiouse intentions, and their humble desires of procuring the publike peace, safety, and happiness of this Realme. For the preventing of those miserable effects which such malicious endeavours may porduce, We have thought good to declare,

1. *The root, and the growth of these mischievous designes.*
2. *The maturitie and ripenesse, to which they have attained before the beginning of the Parliament.*
3. *The effectuall meanes which have beene uscd for the extirpation of those dangerous evils, and the Progresse which hath therein been mad: by His Majesties Goodnesse, and the misedome of the Parliament.*

4. The waies of obstruction and opposition, by which that progresse bath been interrupted.

5. The courses to be taken for the removing those obstacles, and for accompongishing of our most dutifull and fairfull intentions and endeavours of restoring and establishing the ancient Honour, Greatnesse and Security of this Crowne and Nation. The roote of all this mischiefe, wee finde to be a malignant and pernicious designe of subverting the fundamentall Lawes, and principles of Government, upon which the Religion and Justice of this Kingdome are firmly established. The Actors and Promotors hereof have been,

1. The Jesuited Papists who hate the Lawes, as the Obstacles of that change, and subversion of Religion, which they so much long for.

2. The Bishops and the corrupt part of the Clergy, who cherishe formality and superstition, as the naturall effects, and more probable supports of their own Ecclesiasticall tyrnny and usurpatlon.

3. Such Counsellers and Courtiers, as for private ends have engaged themselves to further the interests of some forraigne Princes or States, to the prejudice of his Majestie and the State at home.

The common principles by which they moulded and governed all their particular counsells and actions were these.

First, to maintaine continuall differences and discontents betwixt the King and the people, upon questions of Prerogative and Liberty, that so they might have the advantage of siding with him, and under the Notions of men addicted to his service, gaine to themselves and their parties, the places of greatest trust and power in the Kingdome.

A second, to supprese the purity and power of Religion, and such persons as were affected to it, as being contrary to their owne ends, and the greatest impediment to that change which they thought to introduce.

*A* third, to conjoyn those parties of the Kingdome which were most propitious to their owne ends, and to divide those who were most opposite, which consisted in many particular observations, to cherish the Arminian party in those points, wherein they agree with the Papists, to multiply and enlarge the differences betwixt the common Protestants, and those whom they call Puritans, to introduce and countenance such opinions and ceremonies as are fittest for accommodation with Popery, to encrease and maintaine ignorance, loosenesse and prophanesse in the people; that of those three parties, Papists Arminians, and libertines, they might compose a body fit to act such counsells and resolutions, as were most conduicible to their owne ends.

*A* fourth, to disaffect the King to Parliaments by slanders and false imputations, and by putting him upon other wayes of supply which in shew and appearance were fitter of advantage, then the other of Subsidies, though in truth they brought more losse then gaine both to King and people, and caused the great distractions, under which wee both suffer.

*A*s in all compounded bodies, the Operations are qualified according to the predominant Element: So in this mixt party, the Jesuited counsells being most active and prevailing, may easily bee discovered to have had the greatest sway in all their determinations, and if they bee not prevented, are likely to devoure the rest, or to turne them into their own nature.

In the beginning of his Majesties reigne, the party begunne to revive and flourish againe, having beene somewhat dampht by the breach with Spaine in the last yeare of King James, and by his Majesties marriage with France; the Interests and Counsells of that State, being not so contrary to the good of Religion, and the prosperity of this Kingdome, as tholc of Spaine, and the Papists of England having been ever more addicted to Spain then France; yet they still retained a purpose and resolution to weaken the Protestant parties in all parts, and even in France, whereby to make way for the change of Religion, which they intended at home.

The first effect and evidence of their recovery and strength was, the dissolution of the Parliament at Oxford, after there had been given two Subsidies to his Majesty, and before they received relief

in any one grievance, many other more miserable effects followed; the losse of the Rochel Fleet, by the helpe of our shipping let forth and delivered over to the French, in opposition to the advice of Parliament, which left the Towne without defence by sea, and made way not onely to the losse of that important place, but likewise to the losse of all the strength and security of the Protestant Religion in France. The diverting of his Majesties course of wars from the West-Indies, which was the most facile and hopefull way for this Kingdome to preuale against the Spaniard to an expencefull and successlesse attempt upon Cales, which was so ordered, as if it had rather beene intended to make us weary of warre then to prosper in it. The precipitate breach with France by taking their ships to a great value, without making recompence to the English, whose goods were thereupon imbar'd, and confiscate in that Kingdome. The peace with Spaine without consent of Parliament, contrary to the promise of King *James* to both houses, whereby the Palatine cause was deserted and left to chargeable and hopelesse treaties, which for the most part were managed by those who might justly be suspected to be no friends to that cause.

The charging of the Kingdome with billeted soldiars in all parts of it, and that concomitant designe of Germane horse, that this Land might either submit with feare, or be enforced with rigor to such arbitrary contribution as should be required of them. The dissolving of the Parliament in the second yeare of his Majesties reigne, after a declaration of their intent to grant five Subsidies.

The exacting of the like proportion for five Subsidies after the Parliament dissolved, by the commission of Loan, and divers Gentle-men and others imprisoned for not yeelding to pay the loan, whereby many of them contracted such sickneses as cost them their lives. Great summes of mony required and raised by privy Seales. An unjust and pernicious attempt to extort great payments from the Subject by way of Excise, and a commission issued under Seale to that purpose. The petition of Right which was granted in full Parliament, blasted with an illegall declaration to make it destructive to it selfe to the power of Parliament, to the liberty of the Subject, and to that purpose printed with it, and the petition made of no use but to shew the bold and presumptuous injustice of such Ministers as durst breake the Lawes, and supprese the Liberties

ties of the Kingdome; after they had been so solemnly and evidently declared.

Another Parliament dissolved, 4. Car. the priviledge of Parliament broken, by imprisoning divers Members of the House, detaining them close prisoners for many Moneths together, without the liberty of using Bookes, Pen, Inke, or Paper, denying them all the comforts of life, all meanes of preservation of health, not permitting their Wives to come unto them, even in time of their sicknesse. And for the compleating of that cruelty, after yeares spent in such miserable durance, depriving them of the necessary meanes of Spirituall consolation, nor suffering them to goe abroad to enjoy Gods Ordinances, in Gods House, or Gods Ministers to come to them, to administer comfort unto them in their private Chambers: and to keepe them still in this oppressed condition, not admitting them to be Bayled according to Law, yet vexing them with Informations in inferior Courts, sentencing and fining some of them for maters done in Parliament, and extorting the payments of those Fines from them, enforcing others to put in security of good behaviour, before they could be released.

The imprisonment of the rest which refused to be bound, still continued; which might have been perpetuall, if necessity had not the last year brought another Parliament to relieve them; of whom, one died, by the cruelty and harshnesse of his imprisonment, which would admit of no relaxation, notwithstanding the imminent danger of his life, did sufficiently appeare by the declaration of his Phy-sitian: And his release, or at least, his refreshment, was sought by many humble Petitions. And his bloud still cries either for vengeance, or repentance of those Ministers of S T A T E, who at once obstructed the course, both of his Majesties Justice and Mercy.

Vpon the dissolution of both these Parliaments, untrue and scandalous declarations published, to asperse their proceeding, and some of their Members, unjustly to make them odious, and colour the violence which was used against them. Proclamations set out to the same purpose; and to the great dejecting of the hearts of the people, forbidding them, even to speake of Parliaments.

After the breach of the Parliament, in the fourth yeare of His Majestie, Justice, Oppression, and Violence, broke in upon us, without any restraint or moderation; and yet the fist project, was the great

great summes exacted thorow the whole Kingdome, for default of Knight-hood, which seemed to have some colour and shadow of a Law, yet if it be rightly examined by that absolete Law which was pretended for it, it would be found to be against all the rules of justice, both in respect of the persons charged, the proportion of the Fines demanded, and the absurd and unreasonable manner of the proceedings.

Tonnage and poundage hath beene received without colour or pretence of Law: Many other heavie impositions continued against Law; and some so unreasonable, that the summe of the charge, exceeds the value of the goods. The Booke of Rates lately inhabited to a high proportion; and such Merchants as would not submit to their illegal and unreasonable payments, were vexed and oppressed above measure; and the ordinary course of justice, the common Birth-right of the subject of *England*, wholy obstructed unto them. And although all this was taken upon pretence of guarding the Sea, yet a new and unheard of Tax of Ship-mony was devised, upon the same pretence. By both which, there was charged upon the subject neere 700000. l. some yeares; and yet the Merchants have beene left so naked to the violence of the Turkish Pyrats, that many Great Shippes of value, and thousands of His Majestis Subjects have beene taken by them, and doe still remaine in miserable slavery.

The eolargement of Forrests, contrary to *Charta de Foresta*, and the composition thereupon. The exactions of Coat and Conduct mony, and divers other Military charges. The taking away the Armes of the Trayned Bands of divers Counties. The desperate designe of engroffing all the Gunpowder into one hand, keeping it in the Tower of *London*, and setting so high a Rate upon it, that the poorer sort were not able to buy it, nor could any have it without Licence; ; Thereby to leave the severall parts of the Kingdome destitute of their necessary defense; and by selling so deare that which was sold, to make an unlawfull advantage of it, to the great charge and detriment of the subject, the generall destruction of the Kings Timber, especially that in the Forrest of *Dean*, sold to Papists, which was the best Store-house of this Kingdome, for the maintenance of our Shipping. The taking away of mens right, under colour of the Kings title to Land between high and low water-Markes. The Monopolies of Sope, Salt, Wine, Leather, Sea-Colc,

Cole, and in a manner, of all things of most common and necessary use. The restraint of the Liberties of the Subjects in their habitation, Trades and other Interests. Their vexation and oppression by Purveyors, Clerkes of the Market, and Salt-Petermen. The sale of pretended Nuzances, as buildings in and about London, conversion of Arable into Pature, continuance of Pature, under the name of depopulation, have drawne many Millions out of the Subjects Purses, without any considerable profit to his Majestie. Large quantities of Common, and severall Grounds, have beene taken from the Subject, by colour of the Statute of Improvement, and by abuse of the Commission of Sewers, without their consent, and against it. And not only private Interests, but also publike faith have beene broken, in seizing of the money and Bullion in the Mint; and the whole Kingdome like to be robbed at once, in that abominable project of Brasse money. Great numbers of his Majesties Subjects, for refusing those unlawfull charges, have beene vexed with long and expensive suites, some fined and censured, others committed to long and hard imprisonments and confinements, to the losse of health of many, of life in some; and others have had their houses broken up, their goods seized; some have been restrained from their lawfull callings: Ships have been interrupted in their Voyages; surprized at Sea in an Hostile manner, by Projectors, as by a common enemy: Merchants prohibited to unlade their goods in such Ports, as were for their owne advantage, and forced to bring them to those places which were most for the advantages of the Monopolizers and Projectors.

The Court of Star-chamber hath abounded in extravagant censures, not only for the maintenance and improvement of Monopolies, and other unlawfull taxes; but for divers other Causes, where there hath beene no offence, or very small; whereby his Majesties Subjects have beene oppressed by grievous Fines, Imprisonments, Stigmatizings, Mutilations, Whippings, Pillories, Gags, Confinements, Banishments; after so rigid a manner, as hath not only deprived men of the Societie of their Friends, Exercise of their Professions, comfort of Bookes, use of Paper or Inke, but even violated that neare union which God hath established betwixt Men and their Wives, by forced and constrained separation; whereby they have beene bereaved of the comfort and consolation one of another, for many yeares together, without hope of relief; if God had not by his overruling providence, given some Interruption to the prevailing power and Counsell of those, who were the Authors

and promoters of such peremptory and heady courses,

Judges have been put out of their places, for refusing to doe a-  
gainst their Oaths, and Consciences. Others have been so aw-  
ed, that they durst not doe their duties, and the better to hold a  
rod over them; the Clause *Quamdiu se bene gofferit*, was left out of  
their Patents, and a new Clause, *Durante bene-placito*, inserted.  
Lawyers have beene checkt, for being faithfull to their Clients;  
Solicitors, and Attornies have beene threatened, and some pu-  
nished for following lawfull Suits: And by this means all the  
approaches to Justice were interrupted and foreclosed. New  
Oathes have beene forced upon the Subject against Law; new Ju-  
dicatories erected without Law: The Counsell-Table have by  
their Orders, offered to binde the Subjects in their free holds, Es-  
tates, Suits, and Actions. The pretended Court of the Earle Mar-  
shall was Arbitrary, and illegal in its being and proceedings. The  
Chancerie, Exchequer Chamber, Court of Wards, and other  
English Courts, have beene grievous in exceeding their Jurisdiction.  
The estate of many Families weakened, and some ruined by  
excessive Fines, exacted from them for compositions of Ward-  
ships. All Leases of above an hundred yeares, made to draw on  
Wardship contrary to Law. Vndue proceedings used in the finding  
of Offices, to make the Iury faide for the King. The Common-  
Law Courts, seeing all men more inclinell to seeke Justice there,  
where it may be fited to their owne desire, are knowne frequent-  
ly to forsake the Rules of the Common Law, and straining be-  
yond their bounds, under pretence of equitie, to doe Injustice.  
Titles of Honour, Judiciall places, Serjeant-ships at Law, and o-  
ther Offices have beene sold for great summes of Money, where-  
by the common Justice of the Kingdome hath beene much endan-  
gered, not onely by opening a way of imployment in places of  
great Trust, and advantage to Men of weake parts; but also by gi-  
ving a way to Bribery, Extortion, Partialitie; It seldome hap-  
pens, that places ill-gotten are well used. Commissions have beene  
granted for the examining the excesse of Fees: and when great ex-  
actions have beene discovered, Compositions have beene made  
with Delinquents, not onely for the time past, but likewise for  
immunitie and security in offending, for the time to come; which  
under colour of remedie, hath but confirmed, and encreased the  
grievances of the Subject.

The usuall course of pricking Sherifffes, not obserued, but ma-  
ny

ny times Sheriffes made in an extraordinary way; sometime as a punishment and Charge unto them; sometimes such were prick-ed out, as would be instruments to execute whatsoever they would have to be done.

The Bishops and the rest of the Clergy, did triumph in the Suspensions, Excommunications, Deprivations, and Degradations of divers painefull, learned, and pious Ministers, in the vexation, and grievous oppression of great numbers of this Majesties good Subjects. The high Commission grew to such excesse of sharp-nesse and severitie, as was not much lesse than the Romish Inquisition; and yet in many cases by the Archbishops power, was made much more heavy, being assisted, and strengthened by auth-  
ority of the Councell-Table.

The Bishops and their Courts, were as eager in the Countrey, and although their jurisdiction could not reach so high in rigour, and extremity of punishment; yet were they no lesse grievous, in respect of the generalitie, and multiplicite of vexations, which lighting upon the meaner sort of Trades-men, and Artificers, did impoverish many thousands, and so afflict and trouble others, that great numbers to avoid their miseries, departed out of the Kingdome, some into New-England, and other parts of Amerioe; o-  
thers into Holland, where they have transported their Manu-  
factures of Cloth, which is not only a losse by dimishing the pre-  
sent stock of the Kingdome, but a great mischiefe by impairing  
and endangering the losse of that peculiar trade of Cloathing, which hath beene a plentifull Fountaine of Wealth and Honour to this Nation.

Those were fittest for Ecclesiastical preferment, and soonest ob-  
tained it, who were most officious in promoting superstition, most  
villainous in rayling against godlinesse, and honesty.

The most publike and solemn Sermons before this Majestie were, either to advance Prerogative above Law and Decry, the property of the Subject, or full of such kinde of invechies: whereby they might make those odious, who sought to maintaine the Religion, Lawes and Liberties of the Kingdome; and such men were sure to be weeded out of the Commission of the peace, and out of all other imployments of power in the Government of the Countrey.

Many Noble Personages were Consciente in this, that the power and authoritie remained in a few of them, who were most ad-  
dicted to this party; whose resolutions, and determinations

were brought to the Table, for countenance, and execution, and not for debate, and deliberation; and no man could offer to oppose them without disgrace, and hazard to himself: Nay, all those that did not wholly concurre and actively contribute to the furtherance of their designes: though otherwise, persons of never so great Honour, and Abilities, were so farre from being employed in any place of Trust, and power, that they were neglected, discounteranced, and upon all occasions injured and oppressed.

This Faction was growne to that height, and eniurenesse of power, that now they began to think of finishing their Worke, which consisted of these three parts.

## I.

The Government must be set free from all restraint of Laws, concerning our Persons and States.

## 2.

There must be a conjunction betwixt Papists and Protestants in Doctrine, Discipline, and Ceremonies; only it must not yet be called Popery.

## 3.

The Puritans, under which name they include all those that desire to preserue the Lawes, and Liberties of the Kingdome, and to maintaine Religion in the power of it; must be either rooted out of the Kingdome with force; or driven out with feare. For the effecting of this, It was thought necessarie to reduce Scotland to such Popish Superstitions, & Innovations, as might make them apt to joyn with England, in that great change which was intended. Whereupon new Canons, and a new Liturgie, were prest upon them; and when they refused to admit of them, an Armie was raised to force them to it; towards which the Clergy; and the Papists were very forward in their contribution. The Scots likewise raised an Armie for their safety, but shortly after starting, & vising them to their

their defence ; and when both Armies were come together and ready for a bloody encounter, His Majesties owne gracious disposition, and the Councell of the English Nobilitie, and duti-  
full submission of the Scots ; did so preuale against the evill counsell of others, that a pacification was made, and His Ma-  
jestie returned with Peace, and much Honour to London.

The unexpected reconciliation was most acceptable to all the Kingdome, except to the malignant partie, wherer of the Archbishop and the Earle of Strafford being heads, they and their faction began to enveigh against the peace, and to aggravate the proceeding of the States, which so incensed His Majestie, that he forthwith prepared againe for Warre. And such was their confidence, that having corrupted and distempered the whole frame and Government of the Kingdome, they did now hope to corrupt that, which was the onely meanes to restore all to a right frame and temper againe : to which end they per-  
suaded his Majestie to call a Parliament, not to stoke Counsell and advice of them, but to draw Countenance and Supply from them, and engage the whole Kingdome in their quarrell ; and in the meane time continued all their unjust Levies of money, resolving ei-  
ther to make the Parliament pliant to their Will, and to establish mischefe by a Law, or else to breake it ; and with more colour to goe on by violence, to take what they could not obtaine by con-  
sent. The ground alledged for the justification of this Warre  
was this.

That the undutifull demands of the Parliament of Scotland, was a sufficient reason for his Majestie to take armes against them with-  
out the hearing the Reason of those demands ; and thereupon a new Armie was prepared against them, their Ships were seized in all Ports, both in England and Ireland, and at Sea. Their Petiti-  
ons rejected ; their Commissioners refused audience. This whole Kingdome most miserably distempered with levies of men and mo-  
ney, and imprisonments of those who denied to submit to those Levies. The Earle of Strafford past into Ireland, caused the Par-  
liament there to declare against the Scots, to give fourre Subsidies towards that War ; and to engage themselves, their lives and for-  
tunes for the prosecution of it, and gave directions for an Armie  
of eight thousand Foot, and one thousand Horse to be levied there,  
which were for the most part Papists. The Parliament met upon

the thirteenth of Aprill, one thousand six hundred and forty. The Earle of St afford and Archbishop of Canterbury with their partie so prevailed with his Majestie, that the House of Commons was prest to yeeld to a supply for the maintaineance of the warre with Scotland, before they had provided any relief for the great and pressing grievances of the people, which being against the fundamentall priviledge and proceeding of Parliament, was yet in humble respect to his Majestie, so farre admitted, as that they agreed to take the matter of supply into consideration, and two severall dayes, it was debated. Twelve Subsidies were demanded for the release of Ship-money alone; a third day was appointed for Conclusion, when the heads of that party begun to feare the people might close with the King in satisfying his desires of money: But that withall they were like to blast their malicious designes against Scotland, finding them very much indisposed to give any countenance to that warre.

Thereupon they wickedly advised the King to breake off the Parliament, and to returne to the wayes of confusion, in which their owne evill intentions were most like to prosper and succeed.

After the Parliament ended the 5. of May, 1640. this party grew so bold, as to counsell the King to supply himselfe out of his Subjects states by his owne power, at his owne Will, without their consent. The very next day some members of both Houses had their Studies and Cabinets, yea their Pockets searched; Another of them not long after was committed close prisoner for not delivering some Petitions which he received by authority of that House, and if harsher courses were intended ( as was reported) it is very probable that the sicknesse of the Earle of Strafford, and the tumultuous rising in Southwark, and about Lambeth, were the causes that such violent intentions were not brought to execution. A false and scandalous Declaration against the House of Commons was published, in his Majesties Name, which yet wrought little effect with the people, but only to manifest the impudencie of those who were authors of it.

A forced Loan of Money was attempted in the Citie of London.

The Major and Aldermen in their severall Wards enioyned to bring in a list of the Names of such persons as they judged fit to lend, and of the summe they shbould lend. And such Aldermen as refused to doe were committed to prisor.

The Archbishop and the other Bishops and Clergie continued the Convocation, and by a new Commission turned it to a Provinciall

Synod

*Synod*, in which by an unheard of presumption, they made *Canons* that containe in them many matters contrary to the Kings Prerogative, to the fundamentall Lawes and Statutes of the Realme, to the right of *Parliaments*, to the Property and Liberty of the Subject, and matters tending to sedition and of dangerous consequence, thereby establishing their owne *Usurpation*, justifying their *Altar-worship*, and those other superstitious Innovations which they formerly introduced, without warrant of Law.

They imposed a new Oath upon diverse of His Majesties Subjects, both *Ecclesiastical* and *Lay*, for maintenance of their owne *Tyranny*, and laid a great Taxe upon the Clergie for supply of his Majesty; and generally they shewed themselves very affectionate to the Warre with *Scotland*, which was by some of them stiled *Bellum Episcopale*, and a *Prayer* composed, and enjoyned to be read in all Churchess, calling the *Scots*, *Rebels*, to put the two Nations into blood, and make them irreconcilable. All those pretended *Canons* and *Constitutions* were armed with the severall Censures of *Suspension*, *Excommunication*, *Deprivation*, by which they would have thrust out all good Ministers, and most of the well affected people of the Kingdome, and left an easie passage to their owne Designe of *Reconciliation* with *Rome*. The *Popish* party enjoyed such Exemptions from the *Penall Lawes* as mounted to a Tolleration, besides many other encouragements, and Court favours: They had a Secretary of State, *Sir Francis Vndebarke*, a powerfull Agent for the speeding of all their desires, a *Popes Nuntio* residing here to act and governe them according to such influences as hee received from *ROME*, and to intercede for them with the most powerfull concurrence of the forraigne Princes of that Religion: By his authority the *Papists* of all sorts, Nobility, Gentry, and Clergy were Convocated, after the manner of a *Parliament* new jurisdictions were erected of *Romish Arch-Bishops*, Taxes levied, another State moulded within this State independant in Government, contrary in interest and affection, secretly corrupting the Ignorant, or negligent professors of our Religion, and closely uniting and combining themselves against such as were sound, in this posture waiting for an opportunity by force to destroy those whom they could not hope to seduce. For the effecting whereof, they were strengthened with Armes and Munition, encouraged by superstitious Prayers enjoyned by the *Nuntio* to bee weeklye made for the prosperity of some great designe. And such power had they at Court, that secretly a Commission was issued out, intended to be issued to some great

Men of that profession for the levying of Souldiers, and to command and employ them according to private Instructions, which wee doubt were framed for the advantage of those who were the contrivers of them : His M A J E S T I E S Treasure was consumed, His Revenue anticipated. His Servants and Officers compelled to lend great summes of Money : Multitudes were called to the *Commaū Table*, who were tired with long attendances there, for refusing illegall payments. The *Prisoners* were filled with their Commitments ; many of the Sherifffes summoned into the *Star Chamber*, and some imprisoned for not being quicke enough in levying the ship-money, the people languished under grief, and feare, no visible hope being left, but in desperation. The Nobilitie began to be weary of their silence, and patience, and sensible of the duty and trust which belongs to them : and thereupon some of the most eminent of them did petition His Majestie at such a time when evill Counsels were so strong that they had reason to expect more hazard to themselves, than redresse of those publike evils for which they interceded, whilst the Kingdome was in this Agitation and distemper, the *Scots* restrained in their Trades, impoverished by the losse of many of their Ships, bereaved of all possibility of satisfying His Majestie by any naked Supplication, entered with a powerfull Army into the Kingdome, and without any hostile Act or spoile in the Countrey as they passed, more then forcing a passage over the *Tyne* at *Newborne*, neare *Newcastle*, possessed themselves of *Newcastle*, and had a faire opportunity to presse on further upon the Kings Army : but duty and reverence to His Majesty, and brotherly love to the *English* Nation, made them stay there, whereby the King had leasure to entertain better Counsels, wherein God so blessed and directed him, that he summoned the Great Councell of Peers to meet at *Yorke*, upon the 20. fourth of *Septem.* and there declared a Parliament to begin the 3. of *Novem.* then following. The *Scots* the first day of the Great Councell, presented an humble Petition to His Majestie, whereupon the Treaty was appointed at *Rippon*. A present Cessation of Armes agreed upon : and the full Conclusion of all differences referred to the wisdome and care of the Parliament. At our first meeting all Opposicions seemed to vanish, the mischiets were so evident, which those evill Councillours produced, that no man durst stand up to defend them, Yet the worke it selfe afforded difficulty enough. The multiplied evils and corruption of sixteene yeares strengthened by Custome and authority, and the concurrent interest of many powerfull delinquents were now to bee brought to judge-

judgement and Reformation. The Kings Household was to be provided for, they had brought him to that want, that he could not supply His Ordinary, and necessary expences, without the assistance of his people. Two Armies were to be paied, which amounted very neere to 80. thousand pounds a moneth ; the people were to bee tenderly charged, having bin formerly exhausted with many burthensome Projects. The difficulties seemed to bee insupportable, which by the Divine Providence wee have overcome. The Contraries incompatible, which in a great measure we have reconciled, Sixe Subsidies have beene granted, and a Bill of Poll-money, which if duely levied, may equal sixe Subsidies more ; in all, Sixe hundred thousand pounds. Besides wee have contracted a Debt to the *Scots* of 200. and twenty thousand pounds; and yet God hath so blessed the endeavours of this Parliament, that the Kingdome is a great gainer by all these charges. The Ship-money is abolished, which cost the Kingdome above 200. thousand pounds a Yeare. The Coat and Conduct money, and other military charges, are taken away, which in many Countries amounted to little lesse than the Ship-money. The Monopolies are all supprest, whereof some few did prejudice the Subject, above a Million yearly. The Soape an hundred thousand pounds ; the Wine three hundred thousand pounds ; the Leather must needs exceede both : and Salt could bee no lesse than that, besides the inferiour Monopolies, which if they could bee exactly computed, would make up a great summe. That which is more benefiall then all this is, that the roote of these evills is taken away, which was the arbitrary power pretended to bee in His Majesty, of taxing the Subject, or charging their estates without consent in Parliament, which is now declared to bee against Law by the judgement of both Houses, and likewise by an Act of Parliament. Another steppre of great advantage is this : the living Grievances, the evill Counsellors, and Actors of these mischieves have beene so quelled, by the Justice done upon the Earle of *Strafford*, flight of the *L O R D Finch*, and Secretary *Windebanke*. The accusation and imprisonment of the Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, of Judge *Bartlet*, and the impeachment of divers other Bishops and Judges, that it is like not onely to bee an ease to the present times, but a preservation to the future. The discontinuance of Parliaments is prevented by the Bill for a Trienniall Parliament, and the abrupt dissolution of this **P A R L I A M E N T** by another Bill ; by which it is provided it shall not bee dissolved

or adjourned without the consent of both Houses. Which two Lawes well considered, may be thought more advantagious than all the former, because they secure a full operation of the present remedy, and afford a perpetuall Spring of remedies for the future: The Starre-Chamber, the High Commission, the Courts of the President, and Counsell in the North, were so many forges of Misery, oppression, and violence, and are all taken away, whereby men are more secured in their persons, liberties, and estates; then they could bee by any Law or Example for the regulation of those Courts, or Terroure of the Judges; The immoderate power of the Councell Table, and the excessive abuse of that power is so ordered and restrained, that wee may well hope that no such things as are frequently done by them, to the prejudice of the publike liberty, will appeare in future times but onely in stories, to give us and our posterity more occasion to praise God for his Majesties goodnesse, and the faithfull endeavours of this Parliament. The Canons, and the power of Canon making, are blasted by the Vote of both Houses. The exorbitant power of Bishops, and their Courts, are much abated by some Provisions in the Bill against the High Commission Court. The Authors of the many Innovations in Doctrine and Ceremonies; The Ministers that have beene scandalous in their lives, have beene so terrified in just complaints and accusations, that wee may well hope they will bee more modest for the time to come; either inwardly convicted by the sight of their owne folly, or outwardly restrained by the feare of punishment. The Forrests are by a good Law reduced to their right bounds; The encroachments and oppression of the Stannarie Courts; The Extortions of the Clerke of the Market, and the Compulsion of the Subject to receive the order of Knighthood against his will, paying of Fines for not receiving it, and the vexatious proceedings thereupon for levying of these Fines, are by other beneficall Lawes reformed and prevented. Many excellent Lawes and provisions are in preparation for removing the inordinate power, vexation, and usurpation of Bishops; for reforming the pride and idleness of many of the Clergy, for easing the people of unnecessary Ceremonies in Religion, for censuring and removing unworthy and unprofitable Ministers; and for maintaining godly and diligent Preachers through the Kingdome: Other things of many importance for the good of this Kingdome, are in proposition, though little could hitherto bee done, in regard of the

the many other more pressing businesses, which yet before the end of the Session, we hope may receive some progresse and perfection. The establishing and ordering the Kings Revenue, that so the abuse of Officers, and superfluity of expences may cut off, and the necessary disbursments for his Majestie Honor, the defence and government of the Kingdome, may bee more certainly provided for. The regulating of Courts of Iustice, and abridging both the delayes and charges of Law suits; The settling of some good courses for preventing the exportation of Gold and Silver, and the inequality of exchange betwixt us, and other Nations, for the advancing of native Commodities, increase of our Manufactures, and well ballancing of Trade, whereby the stock of the Kingdome may be increased, or at least kept from impairing, as thorow neglect hereof it hath done for many yeares last past; For improving the Herring fishing, upon our owne Coasts, which will be of mighty use in the employment of the poore, and a plentifull Nursey of Mariners for inabling the Kingdome in any great Action. The oppositions, obstructions, and other Difficulties wherewith we have beeene encouerted, and which still lye in our way, with some strength and much obstiuatey are these; The malignant party, whom we have formerly deseribed, to be the actors and promotoris of all our misery, they have taken heart againe; They have beeene able to pfer some of their own Factors and Agents to degrees of honour, to places of trust and imployment even during the Parliament. They have endeavoured to worke in his Majesty ill impressions and opinions of Our proceedings, as if we had altogether done our owne worke, and not His, and had obtained from him many things very prejudicall to the Crown, both in respect of Prerogative and profit. To wipe out this slander, We thinke good onely to say thus much: That all that We have done is for his Majesty, His greatnessse, honour, and support, when Wee yielde to give 25000 £. a moneth for the relief of the Northerne Countries, this was given to the King, for hee was bound to protect his subjects, they were his Majesties evill Councillors, and their ill instruments that were actors in those grievances which brought in the Scots; and if his Majesty pleate to force those who were the Authors of this warre to make satisfaction, as

he might justly and easily doe, it seeines very reasonable, that the people might well be excused from taking upon them this burthen, being altogether innocent, and free from being any causes of it.

When wee undertooke the charge of the Army, which cost above 50000 pound a moneth; was not this given to the King? was it not his Majesties Arnie? were not all the Commanders under contract of his Majestie, at higher rates, and greater wages than ordinarie? and have not we taken upon us to discharge all the brotherly assistance of three hundred thousand pounds, which wee gave the Scots? was it not toward repaire of those dammages and losses which they received from the Kings ships, and from his Ministers? these three particulars amount to above 1100. thousand pound, besides his Majesty hath received by impositions upon Merchandise, at least 400. thousand pounds, so that his Majesty hath had out of the Subjects purse, since the Parliament began, one million and halfe, and yet these men can be so impudent, as to tell his Majestie, that we have done nothing for him. As to the second branch of this slander, wee acknowledge with much thankfulness that his Majestie hath passed more good Bills to the advantage of the Subjects, then hath beeene in many ages; but withall we cannot forget, that these venomous Counsells did manifest themselves in some endevours to hinder these good Acts: And for both Houses of Parliament, wee may with truth and modestie say thus much, That we have ever beeene carefull not to desire any thing that should weaken the Crowne, either in just profit, or usefull power. The triennall Parliament, for the matter of it, doth not extend to so much, as by the Law wee ought to have required, there being two Statutes stil in force for a Parliament to be once a yeaer, and for the manner of it, it is in the Kings power, "that it shall never take effect, if hee by timely summons shall prevent any other way of assembling. In the Bill for continuance of this present Parliament, there seeemes to be some restraint of the royall power in dissolving of Parliaments, not to take it out of the Crowne, but to suspend the execution of it for this time and occasion onely, which was so necessary for the Kings owne security, and the publike peace, that without it wee could not have undertaken any of these great charges

charges, but must have left both the Armies to disorder and confusion, and the whole Kingdome to bloud and rapin. The Star-chamber was much more fruitful in oppresion, than in profit, the great fines being for the most part given away, and the rest stalled at long times.

The fines of the High Commission were in themselves unjust and seldome or never came into the Kings purse. These four Bills are particularly and more specially instanced, in the rest, there will not be found so much as a shadow of prejudice to the Crowne. They have sought to diminish our reputation with the people, and to bring them out of love with Parliaments: the aspersions which they have attempted this way, have beene such as these; That we have spent much time, and done litte, especially in those grievances which concerne Religion. That the Parliament is a burthen to the Kingdome, by the abundance of Protections, which hinder Justice and Trade, and by many Subsidies granted much more heavy than any they formerly endured; to which there is a ready answer: If the time spent in this Parliament be considered in relation backward to the long growth and deep root of those grievances, which wee have removed, to the powerfull supports of those delinquents which we have pursued, to the great necessities and other charges of the Common-wealth for which we have provided: or if it be considered in relation forward to many advantages, which not onely the present, but future ages are like to reap by the good Lawes and other proceedings in this Parliament, we doubt not but it will bee thought by all indifferent judgements that our time hath beene much better employed than in a far greater proportion of time in many former Parliaments put together; and the charges which have beene laid upon the Subjects, and the other inconveniences which they have borne, will seeme very light, in respect of the benefit they have and may receive.

And for the matter of Protections, the Parliament is so sensible of it, that therein they intend to give them whatsoeuer ease may stand with Honour and Justice; and are in a way of passing a Bill to give them satisfaction. They have sought by many subtile practices, to cause jealousies and divisions betwixt us and our brethren of *Scotland*, by slandering their proceedings, and intentions towards us; and by secret endevours

to instigate and incense them and us one against another. They have had such a party of Bishops and popish Lords in the house of Peers, as hath caused much opposition and delay in the prosecution of delinquents, hindred the proceedings of divers good Bills passed in the Commons House, concerning the Reformation of sundry great abuses and corruptions both in Church & State. They have labored to seduce & corrupt some of the Commons House, to draw them into conspiracies and Combinations against the liberty of the Parliament: & by their instruments and agents they have attempted to disaffect and discontent his Majesties Army, and to ingage it for the maintenance of their wicked and trayterous designes, the keeping up of Bishops in their Votes and Functions, and by force to compell the Parliament to order, limit, and dispose their proceedings in such manner as might best concurre with the intentions of this dangerous and potent Faction: And when one mischievous designe, and attempt of theirs to bring on the Army against the Parliament, and the City of *London* had beene discovered and prevented, they presently undertook another of the same damnable nature, with this addition to it, to endeavour to make the Scottish Army naturall, whilst the English Army which they had corrupt and inuenome against us by their false and slanderous sugg estions, should execute their malice to the subversion of our Religion, and the dissolution of our government. Thus they have bin continually practising to disturb the peace, & plotting the destruction even of all the Kings Dominions, and haue employed their emisaries and agents in them all, for the promoting of their devillish designes, which the vigilancy of those who were wel-affected, hath stil discovered and defeated before they were ripe for execution in *England* and *Scotland*: onely in *Ireland* which was further off, they have had time and opportunity to mould and prepare their worke, and had brought it to that perfection, that they had possessed themselves of that whole Kingdome, totally subverted the government of it, rooted out Religion, and destroyed all the Protestants, whom the conscience of their duty to God, their King and Country would not have permitted to joyng with them, if by Gods wonderfull providence their maine enterprize upon the City and Castle of *Dublin* had not beene detected and prevented upon the very

Ev<sup>e</sup> before it should have beeene executed. Notwithstanding they have in other parts of that Kingdome broken out into rebellion, surprised Townes and Castles, committed murders, rapes, and other villanies; and shaken off all bonds of obedience to his Majest<sup>y</sup>; and the Lawes of the Realme; and in generall have kindled such a fire, as nothing but Gods infinite blessing upon the wisedome & endeavoures of this State will be able to quench it: and certaintly had not God in his great mercy unto this Land discovered and confounded their former desigues, we had been the Prologue of this Tragedy in *Ireland*. and had by this time been made the lamentable spe<sup>t</sup>acle of misery and confusion. And now what hope have we but in God, when as the onely means of our subsistence, and power of reformation is under him, in the Parliament; but what can wee the Commons without the coniunction of the Houle of Lords, and what coniunction can we expect there, when the Bish<sup>ps</sup> and Recusant Lords are so numerous & prevalent that they are able to crosse and interrupt our best endeavoures for reformation, and by that meanes give advantage to this malignant party to traduce our proceedings. They infuse into the people, that wee meane to abolish all Church government, and leave every man to his owne fancy for the service and worship of God absolving him of that obedience which he owes under God unto his Majest<sup>y</sup>, whom we know to be intrusted with the Ecclesiasticall Law, as well as with the Temporal, to regulate all the members of the Church of *England*, by such rules of order and Discipline as are established by Parliament, which in his great Council in all affaires both in Church and state. We confess<sup>e</sup> our intention is and our endeavoures have been to reduce within the bounds that exorbitant power which the Prelates have assumed unto themselves, so contrary both to the Word of God, and to the Lawes of the Land, to which end wee past the Bill for the removing them from their Temporall power, and imployments, that so the better they might with meekenesse, apply themselves to the discharge of their functions, which Bill themselves opposed, and were the principall instruments of croſſing it.

And we doe here declare that it is far from our purpose or desire to let loose the golden reynes of Discipline and Governe-  
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ment in the Church, to leave private persons or particular ~~Con-~~  
gregations, to take up what forme of divine Service they please; for wee hold it requisite that there should bee throughout the whole Realme, a conformity to that Order, which the Lawes enjoyn, according to the Word of God: and we desire to unburthen the consciences of men of needlesse and superstitious Ceremonies, supprese Innovations, and take away the Monuments of Idolatry. And the better to effect the intended Reformation, we desire there may be a generall Synod of the most grave, pious, learned, and judicious Divines of this Island, assisted with some from forraigne parts, professing the same Religion with us, who may consider of all things necessary for the peace and good government of the Church, and represent the results of their consultations unto the Parliament, to bee there allowed of and confirmed, and receive the stampe of Authority thereby to finde passage and Obedience throughout the Kingdome. They have malitiously charged us, that wee intend to destroy and discourage Learning, whereas it is our chiefeſt care and desire to advance it, and to provide a competent maintenance for conſcional and preaching Ministers throughout the Kingdome, which will be a great encouragement to Schollers, and a certaine meanes whereby the want, meanenesse, and ignorance, to which a great part of the Clergy is now ſubject, will be prevented. And wee intenſt likewiſe to reforme, and purge the fountaines of Learning the two Universities, that the ſtreames flowing from thence may be cleare and pure, and an honour and comfort to the whole Land. They have strained to blaſt our proceedings in Parliament, by wresting the interpretations of our Orders from their genuine intention. They tell the people that our meddling with the power of Episcopacy, hath caused Sectaries and Conventicles, when Idolatry and popiſh Ceremonies introduced in the Church, by the command of the Bisho:ps have not only debarred the people from thence, but expelled them from the Kingdom. Thus with *Eliab* we are cald by this malignant party, the troublers of the State, and ſtill while we endeavour to reforme their abuſes, they make us the authors of thofe miſchiſes we ſtudy to prevent: for the perfecting of the worke begun and removing all future impediments, wee

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conceive these courses will be very effectuall, seeing the Religion of the Papists, hath such principles as do certainly tend to the destruction and extirpation of all Protestants, when they shall have opportunity to effect it.

It is necessary in the first place to keep them in such a condition, as that they may not be able to do us any hurt, and for avoyding of such connivence and favour as hath heretofore been shewed unto them: That his Majesty bee pleased to grant a standing Commission unto some choyce men named in Parliament, who may take notice of their encrease, their counsels and proceedings, and use all due meanes by execution of the Lawes, to prevent all mischievous designes, against the peace and safety of this Kingdome. That some good course bee taken to discover the counterfeit and false conformity of Papists to the Church, by colour wherof persons very much disaffected to the true Religion, have been admitted into place of greatest authority and trust in the Kingdome.

For the better preservation of the Laws and Liberties of the Kingdome, that all illegall grievances and exactions be presented, and punished at the Sessions, and Assizes: and that Judges and Justices be very carefull to give this in charge to the grand Jury, and both the Sheriff and Justices to be sworne to the due execution of the petition of right and other Lawes: That His Majesty be humbly petitioned by both Houses, to employ such Counsellors, Ambassadors, and other Ministers, in manouaging His busynesse at home and abroad, as the Parliament may have cause to confide in, without which wee cannot give his Majesty such supplyes for support of His owne estate, nor such assistance to the Protestant party beyond the Sea, as is desired. It may often fall out that the Commons may have just cause to take exceptions at some men for being Counsellors, and yet not charge those men with crimes, for there bee grounds of difference, which lye not in proofe: there are others, which though they may be proved, yet are not legally criminall, to be a knowne favourer of Papists, or to have bee very forward in defending or countenancing some great offenders, questioned in Parliament, or to speake contemptuously of either Houses of Parliament, or Parliamentary proceedings, or such as are fa-

ctors or agents, for any forraime Prince of another Religion, such are justly suspected to get Counsellours places, or any other of trust, concerning publique employmont of motey : For all these and divers others, we may have great reason to be earnest with His Majesty, not to put His great affaires into such hands though we may be unwilling to proceed against them in any legall way of charge or impeachment : That all Counsellours of State may be sworne to obserue those Lawes which concern the Subject in his liberty, that they may likewise take an oath, not to receive or give reward or pension from any forraime Prince, but such as they shall within some reasonable tyme discover to the Lords of His Majesties Counsell : And although they should wickedly forswear themselves, yet it may herein do good, to make them knowne to be false and perjured, to those who employ them, and thereby bring them into as little credit with them as with us. That His Majesty may have cause to bee in love with good Counsell and good men, by shewing him in an humble and dutifull manner, how full of advantage it would be to himself, to see his own estate settled in a plentifull condicione, to support his honour, to see his people united in wayes of duty to him, and endeavours of the publique good ; to see happiness, wealth, peace and safety derived to his own Kingdom, and procured to his Allies, by the influence of his owne power and government. That all good courses may be taken to unite the two Kingdomes of England and Scotland, to bee mutually syding and assisting of one another for the common good of the Island, and honour of both.

To take away all differences amongst our selves for matters indifferent in their owne nature, concerning Religion ; and to unite our selves against the common enemies, which are the better enabled by our divisions to destroy us all, as they hope and have often endeavoured. To labbour by all offices of friendship to unite the forraime Churches with us in the same cause, and to seeke their liberty, safety, and prosperity, as bound therunto, both by charity to them, and by wisedome for our owne good. For by this meanes our own strength shall be increased, and by a mutual concurrence to the same common end, we shall be enabled to procure the good of the whole body of the Protestant

te stant profection. If these things may be observed, wee doubt not but God will crowne this Parliament with such successe as shall be the beginning, and foundation of more honour and happiness to His Majestie, than ever yet was enjoyed by any of His Royall Predecessors.

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es ist nicht so, daß man nichts davon hätte, und  
es ist nicht so, daß man nichts davon hätte, und  
es ist nicht so, daß man nichts davon hätte, und